2: Becher--14 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

/6 cont./

obtain by barter clay vessels, clay plates, bows, arrows, hammocks, baskets, belts, and upper-arm ornaments (29).

29. Pottery is not practiced at all by the Surára and Pakidái, and their self-made bows, arrows, hammocks, etc. are inferior in quality to those of the Xirifna.

/7/

IV. Historical Data

At the present time, in the winter months (rainy season), April-September, the Surára live at the Cachoeira dos Índios (Ill. 2 and 3), on the upper Rio Aracá, and the Pakidái in Taraquá, on a right branch of the middle Demini. The summer months (dry season), October-March, on the other hand, the two tribes spend together in a large, open maloka, which belongs to the Surára, in the virgin forest region between the Demini and Aracá rivers. This maloka lies 70 kilometers northeast of the Cachoeira dos Índios and about 100 kilometers south of the source region of the Orinoco.

Koch-Grünberg, on his map accompanying the work Vom Roroíma zum Orinoco /From the Roroíma to the Orinoco/, showed neither the Rio Demini nor the Rio Aracá and designates this region as "unknown territory." In his text he also says, "the entire large area between Rio Negro, Rio Branco and Uraricuéra is unexplored to this day" (30). Baldus likewise points out that in this area

30. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 287.

"surprises still await the seeker of unknown tribes" (31).

31. Baldus, 1956a, p. 294.

/7 cont./

Demini and Aracá were first introduced into the literature by João Barbosa Rodrigues, although he did not write Demini, but rather Demeune (32), and the Rio Aracá was called Uaraca by him (33).

32. On maps of that period one likewise finds the entry Demeney.

33. Rodrigues, 1885, pp. 136, 148.

With regard to the name Demini, it may be assumed that the ending "ini," according to the linguistic studies of Koch-Grünberg (34a), is derived from the Aruak /Arawak/ word "eni" =

34a. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 15.

river, water. This assumption is confirmed by many very old finds of shards which I discovered on the entirely unpopulated terra firma on the riverine lakes of the Demini. They are yellowish gray shards, which are decorated with spiral lines, meanders, and other plaiting designs and resemble the earthenware vessels which Koch-Grünberg described for the Aruak tribes (34b).

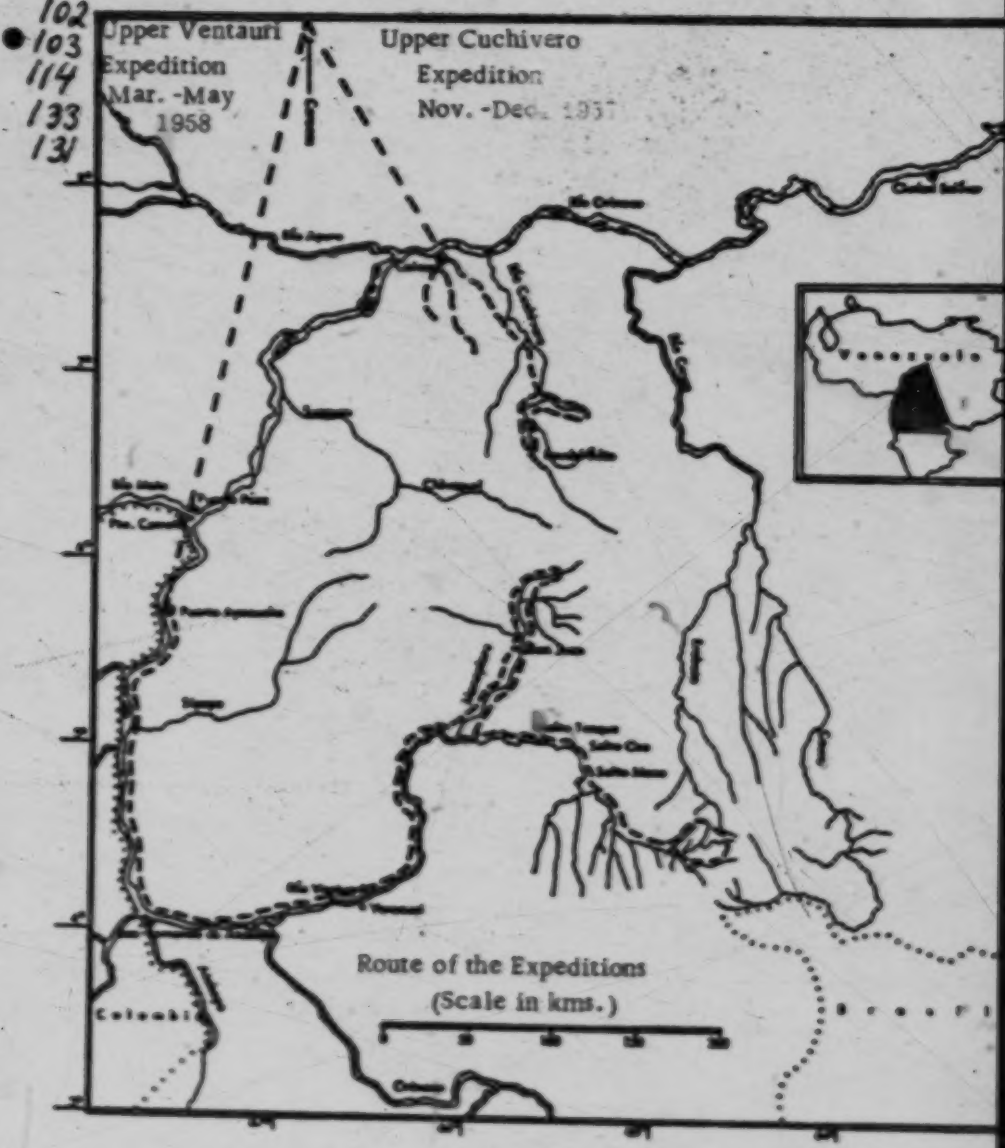
34b. Koch-Grünberg,1910a, pp. 227/28 and Ills. 152-155.

The fact that I found only shards is undoubtedly linked with the custom of the Aruak described by Koch-Grünberg, according to which all the clay vessels that belonged to a deceased person must be broken to pieces, for otherwise the spirit of the dead would punish the greed of the relatives (35).

35. Koch-Grünberg, 1910a, p. 151.

This would also confirm the surmise of Koch-Grünberg that at one time Aruak tribes coming from the west and southwest penetrated into the region between Rio Branco and Orinoco, which was

4: Wilbert--3 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema



Map 1. Route of the expeditions.

4: Wilbert
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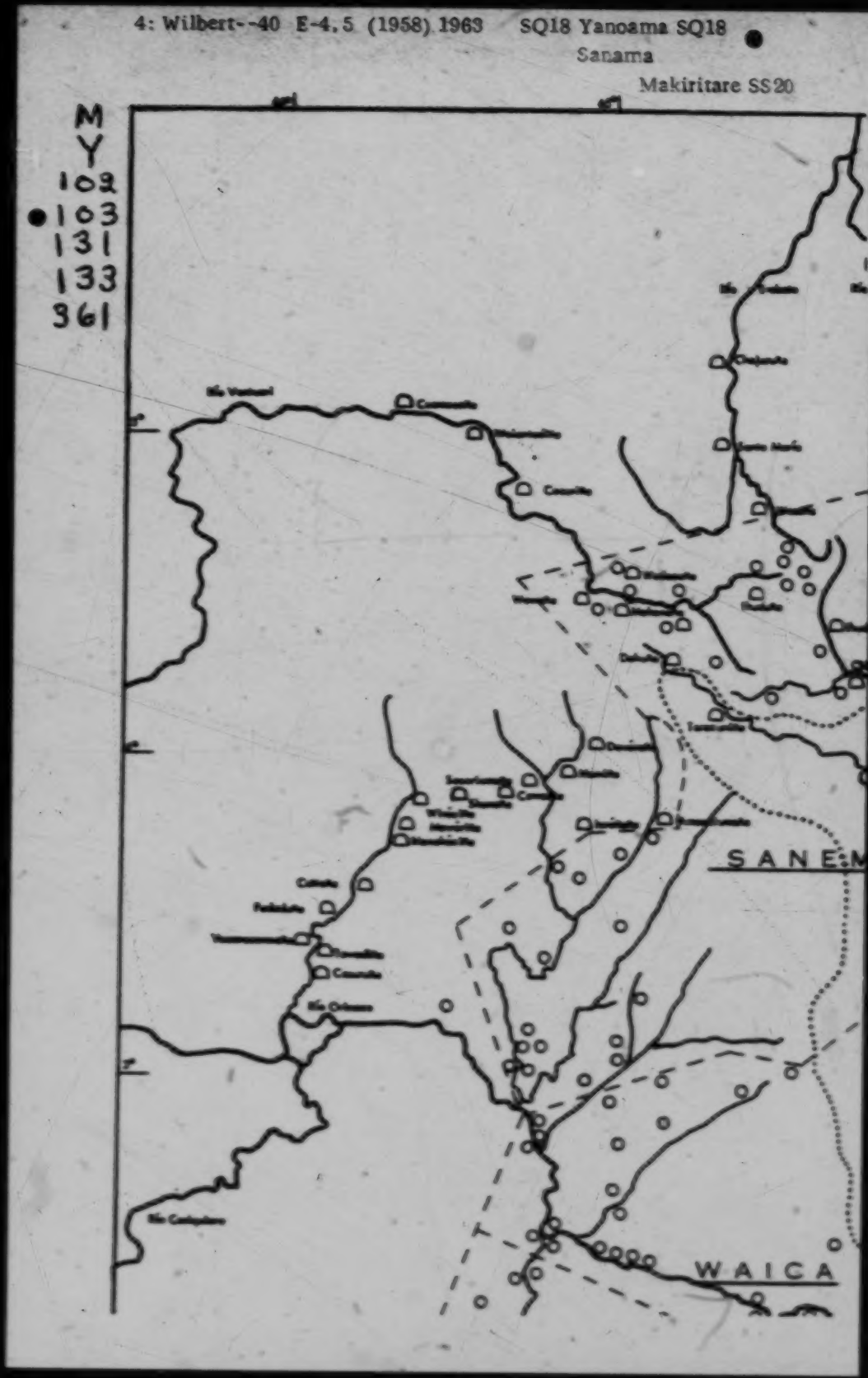
SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Makiritare SS20

p. 40	p. 41
p. 42	p. 43

Chart of Positions of Tribal Distribution Map (foldout). /facing p. 39/


4: Wilbert--40 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
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WAICA

4: Wilbert--41 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●

Makiritare SS20 Sanema

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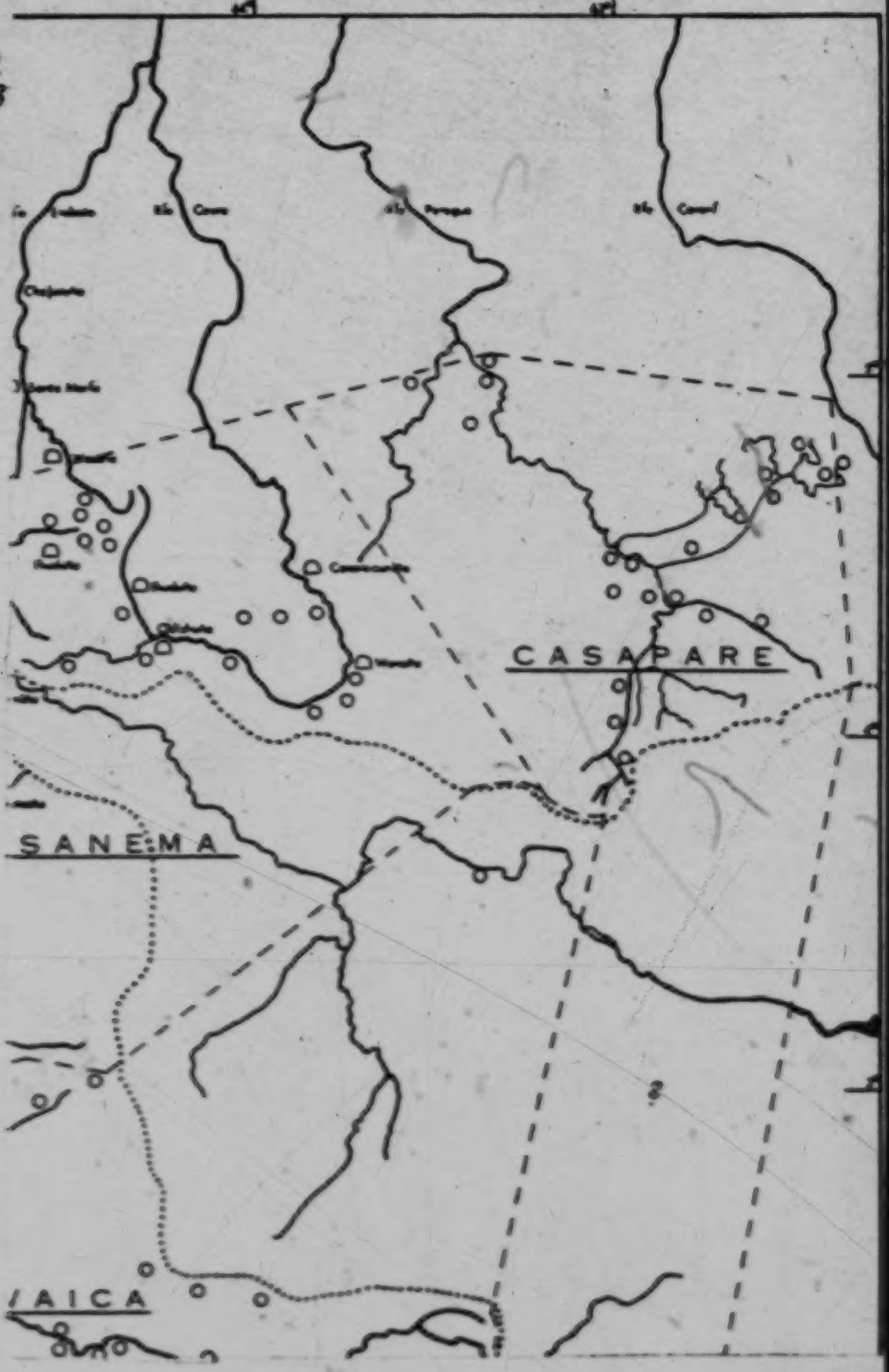

4: Wilbert--42 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●
Makiritare 55 2● Sanema

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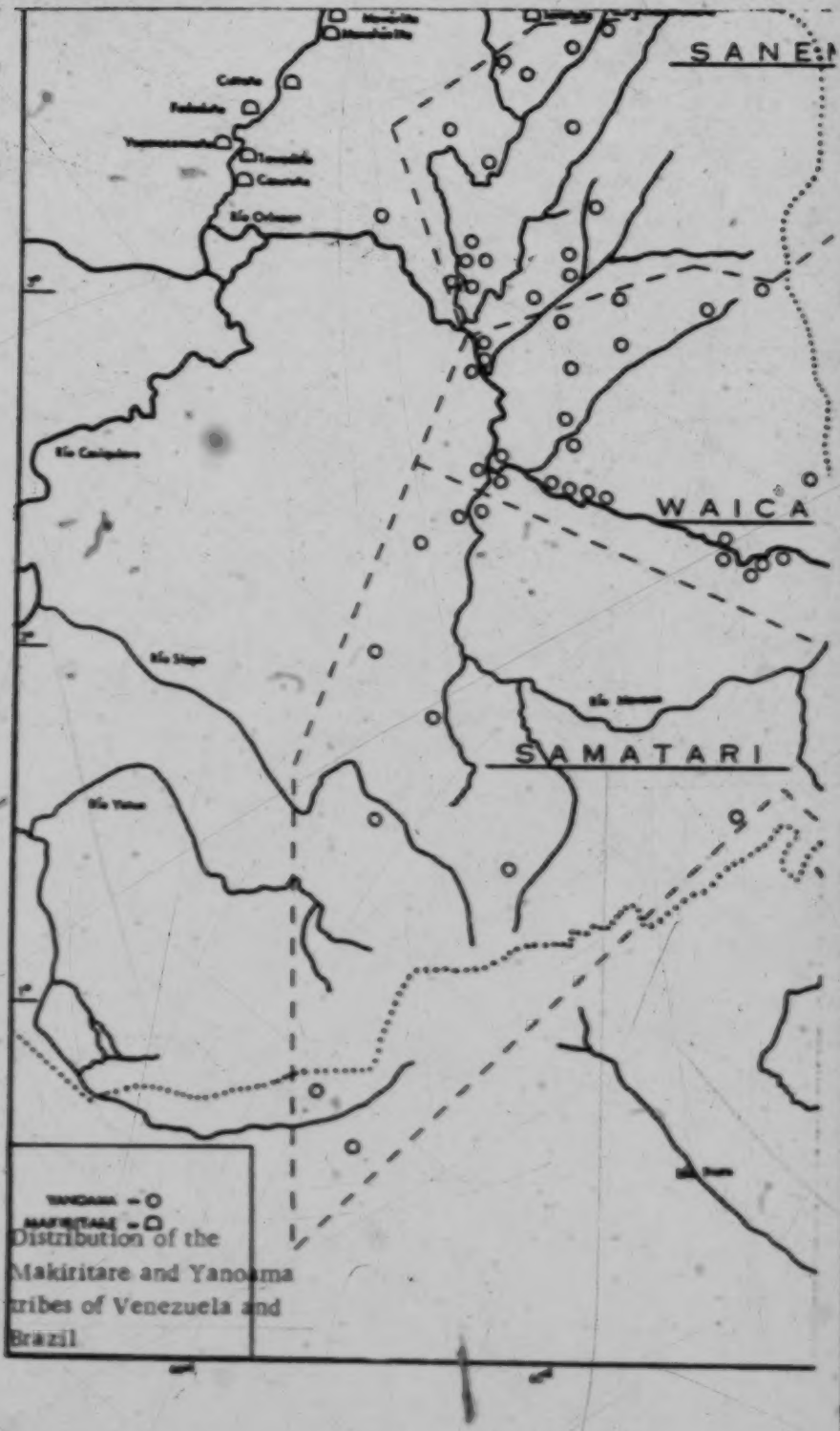

Distribution of the Makiritare and Yanoama tribes of Venezuela and Brazil

4: Wilbert--43 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●

Sanema
Makiritare SS20

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● 103
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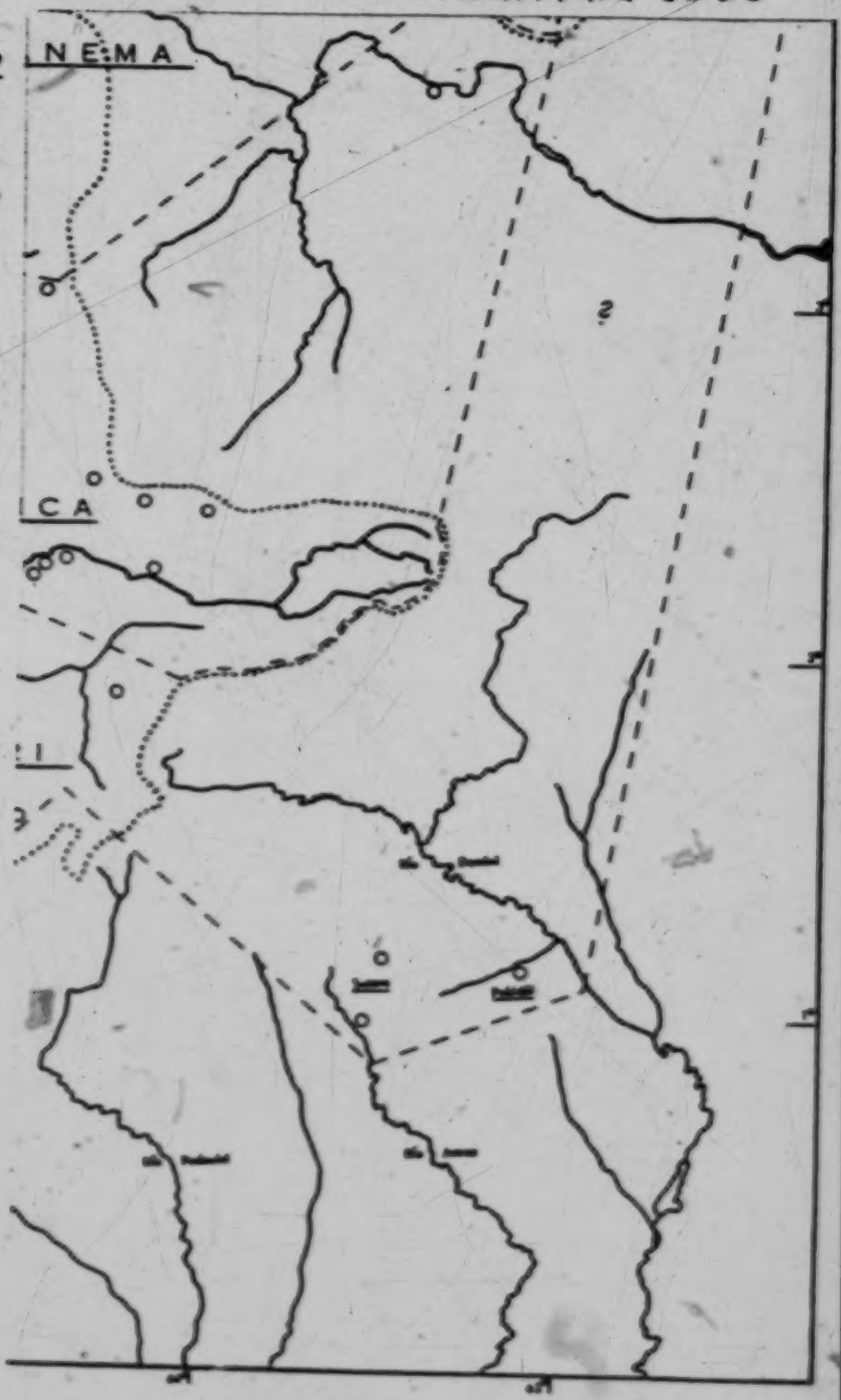

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

122

It did not take us a great deal of time to organize the expedition. The question of food supplies didn't arise. We had given the little we had left to Jean. We were going among the Samatari like Samatari ourselves. The forest land of Uagna and the Rio Branco was waiting for us with its tapirs and its deer, serenely at pasture in the rich water-grass; with its ripened fruits falling from the trees into streams of dark water; with its birds whose crops were full of that fruit, and its fish which no barbasco had threatened for decades now, ever since the Guayca migrated to the north; with its fat grubs forming white silken cocoons in the trees. In the sharpness of our longing for the uncharted scene and for peoples still unknown, we saw ourselves already, in our imagination, plunging into the hidden depths of the forest, and the forest, in its turn, taking us to its bosom like a mother, boundlessly wise, providing for all our needs.

Hashimo arrived the next day and so far as we could judge from the preparations he had made and the quantity of arrows he was carrying, he had decided to come with us. So began the palavers between the four of us—Enrico and I on one side, Uaremu and Hashimo on the other. We went into everything. Hashimo had lived as a boy in the region we wanted to explore; he knew the Samatari and at times he claimed to be on friendly terms with them, so that it was he more than anyone who knew the problems we might have to face. From the Samatari 'gate', which we had already seen on the Uagna, our path lay over exactly thirty-two hills. The Indian made the same gesture as he would have used to greet us and numbered them off with his hand, his eyes closed and the whole scene passing in front of his mind's eye. Thirty-two—not one less—and some so high that the speaker groaned with exhaustion as he enumerated them, as if he were trying to push some great stone over the top. After these hills, which would mean a six days' march from the landing, one reached the River Aracosa. After descending that, there was the Parima (the Shirian name for the Upper Uraricoera), as far as a big falls. Then more *pilishi* and *nawishi* —daily stages and night stops—and landmarks on the way, until the traveller came to the Samatari. [103]

Considering that this people ranged like monkeys over a region which extended for hundreds of miles, we could not understand how he could be so definite about their present whereabouts—especially since he hadn't seen the place himself for many years. But the Indian mind is capable of subtleties beyond our imagining.

/435 cont./

126 628 rancherías. For anyone who might be preparing to travel or work in Guaika territory, these relations can be as important as the geographical location of the settlements. If a group of Guaika should be engaged to carry out certain tasks, they might be inclined to work well in certain areas, but doubtless would refuse to enter areas inhabited by their enemies.

126 /436/ On the map of the whole area inhabited by the Guaika and Guajaribo, I have tried to show the approximate limits of the two tribes. The areas which are shaded on the said map correspond to the zones where we have had contact with these [114] tribes on several occasions. The settlements whose names appear underlined, that is to say, El Platanal and Ioeitedi, are native rancherías where we have lived and worked for long periods of time. These settlements continue to be our principal bases of operation.

● 103 The native names of the principal rivers are as follows:

Orinoco River	Majekodo-ko
Cunucunuma River	Ami-ko
Padamo River	Jaiyama-ko
Metacuni River	Wakawaka-ko
Ocamo River	Kia-ko
Mavaca River	Wachewa-ko
Manavichi River	Mata-ko

The native name of the Raudal de Guajaribos /Guaharibo Torrent/ is Kalebakbola.

I have not been able to discover even one name for the hill of Guaiaribo, but the most important peaks, starting below and going up the river, are: Wanidi-mak, Yabinao-mak, Kacholaoa-mak, and Wadubaoa-mak.

Geography

361 A few Guaika /Waica/ settlements are located along the principal rivers and are accessible by means of small boats or canoes with outboard motors. Nevertheless, most of the Guaika settlements are inland and can only be reached after one or more days of travel.

7: Barker--7 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Waica
Guaharibo

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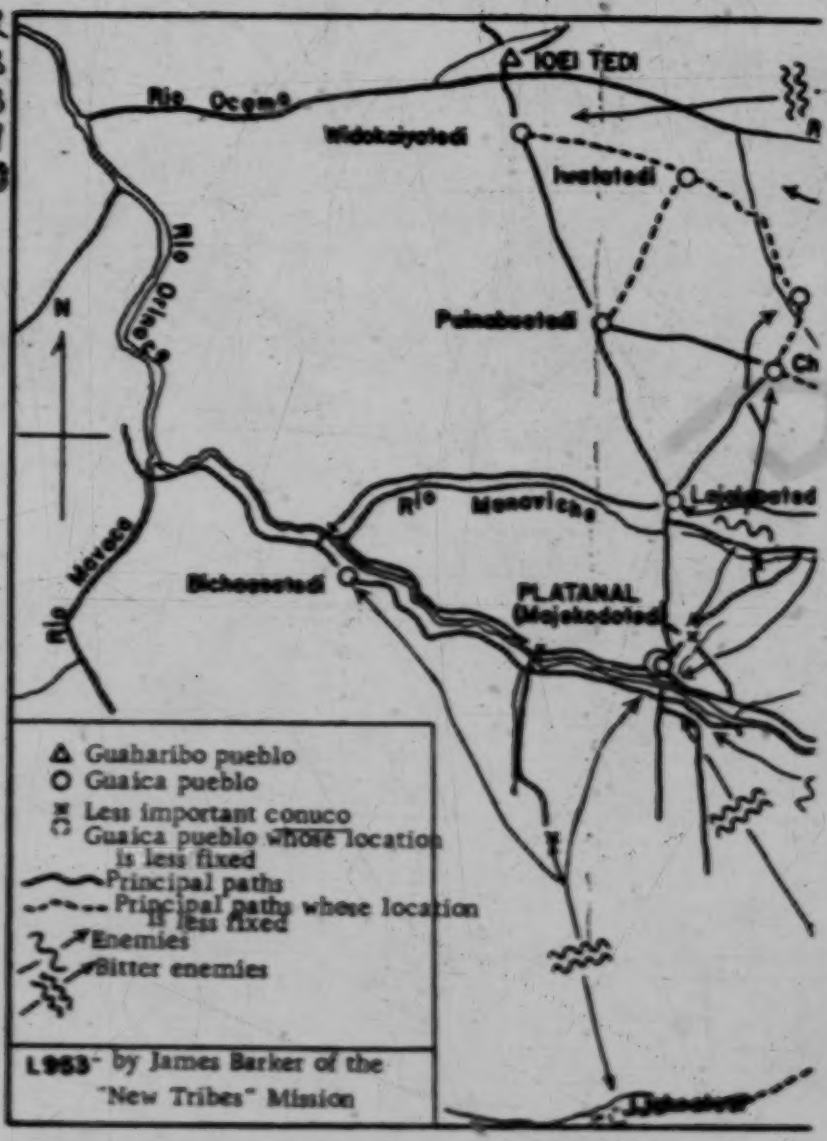
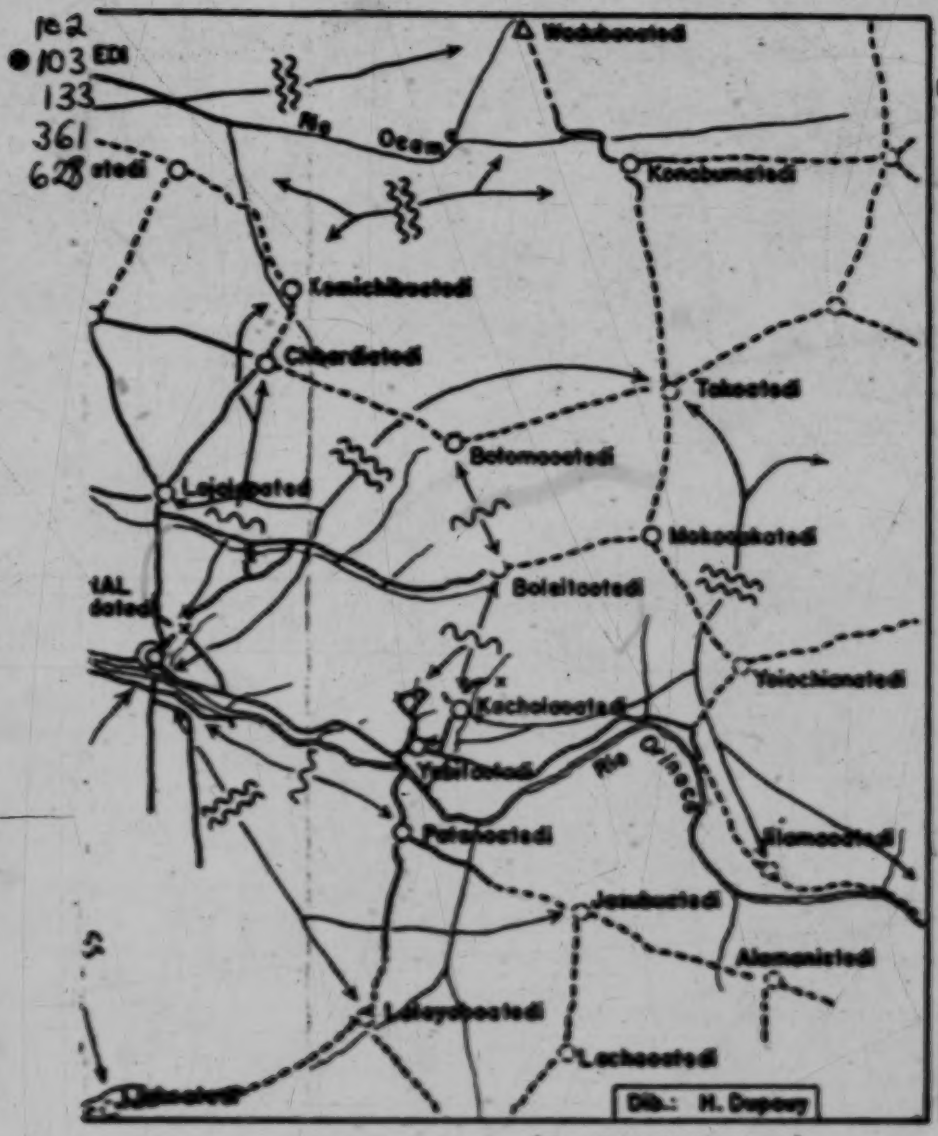


7: Barker--8 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Waica
Guaharibo



/Drawing: H. Dupouy/

Waica
Guahariba

/437 cont./

Population -- 1953

361 It is known that there are about 23 Guaika /Waica/ settlements between the Orinoco and the Ocamo rivers and in the region of the Brazilian frontier to the north of the Orinoco River.

/438/ It is known that there are at least 28 other Guaika settlements to the south of the Orinoco River.

• 103 162 The approximate population of the Guaika settlements with which we have had the most contact is as follows:

Majekodotedi (Platanal).	100	Kacholaotedi	100
Bichaasatedi	100	Boleitaotedi	100
Lajalaowatedi	100	Patanaotedi	120
Yabitaotedi	75	Chibardiatedi	60

361 At least eight Guajaribo settlements are known to exist in the region of the Ocamo and Lower Padamo rivers. It is known that there are others on the Upper Padamo, a few others on the Ventuari River, and still others on the Upper Caura (also called the Merevari River).

103 162 [114] The approximate population of the Guajaribo settlements with which we have had the most contact is as follows:

Iceitedi	60
Wakawakatedi	100
Kwaisitedi	100

No2 The population of El Platanal can be divided by age and sex approximately as follows:

	Men	Women	Total
Great-grandparents	0	1	1
Grandparents	6	6	12
Parents	8	15	23
Newlyweds (childless)	5	6	11
Unmarried adolescents and children	33	21	54
	52	49	101

/479/

736 Orphans in general are cared for by relatives, but when they do not have any, they are normally adopted. I have never known of any who was left in helplessness.

The Community

621 [62] The population of a seat or settlement varies between 60 and perhaps 120, but most of the settlements have around 100 inhabitants. Smaller groups are afraid to live apart, and there- [578] fore they join together to protect themselves. Larger groups soon split up, owing to internal frictions.

[622] Within the settlement there is generally one or two more influential individuals, who not only direct their own families, but several others. When these groups grow sufficiently, they split up and form their own settlements. These groups are found united in a single settlement out of fear.

621 622 578 The largest and most influential group gives orders in the settlement. The result of this is that any struggle for command will not necessarily be a test of strength between two men, but may easily turn into a struggle between the partisans of each of them. The maximum gravity reached by these contests is generally the "macana fight."

626 Public opinion is a powerful force, and even the men of greater influence have to yield on many occasions to the will of the public.

• 103 Each settlement usually has two names, the one of the present locality and the name of one of the localities previously occupied.

Sickness and Magic

752 753 Some accidents are attributed to carelessness, but many accidents and all sicknesses are attributed to supernatural causes or spirits.

10:Chagnon B-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Zerries (1964:19) has included the groups I studied in the Shamatari classification on the basis of information taken from Mahakodotedi informants. The members of these groups, however, deny the Shamatari identity and distinguish themselves from their southern neighbors, some of whom visit them regularly and are married into their villages.

The Shamatari,[1] according to my Bisaasi-tedi informants, take their name from one of the headmen, Kayabawë ("big tree"), who lived north of the Orinoco River in a village then called Shihowë-tedi. Kayabawë was an unusually corpulent man and bore a second name, Shamatari, derived from their word (Shama) for the tapir, a large ungulate found throughout tropical South America. Shamatari, when Shihowë-tedi split, led his faction south of the Orinoco River and settled in the headwaters of the river known to the Yanomamë as the Shukunöna-u (see above), where his village became known as Mokayëaba-tedi. Other villages, related to Shihowë-tedi, moved into the Shukunöna River and Mavaca River basins after Shamatari's village was established, ultimately spreading as far southwest as the Causbury headwaters in Brazil. The Shamatari expansion into this area took place around the turn of the century, according to my reconstruction of Shamatari history (see below). This is also supported by meagre

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[1] There is another "Shamatari" group in the tributaries of the Upper Parima River of Brazil; these are not to be confused with the Shamatari under discussion here, although both groups are Yanomamë. See Vinci, 1959, for an impressionistic account of his brief contact with the Parima Shamatari.

CHAPTER V

THE HISTORY OF FIVE YĄNOMAMÖ VILLAGES

I shall briefly outline in this chapter the history of the movements of Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, Patanowë-tedi, MŲmaribŏwei-tedi and Reyabobŏwei-tedi, including those movements during the fifteen-month period (November 1964 through February 1966) covered by my field work. The historical data I collected on village movements enable me to discuss the village histories from about 1875 to the present.

The first three of the above-mentioned groups lived together at one time and the present residents of these villages are closely related. The last site they occupied as one village was called Mamowei-tedi, and for sake of simplicity I adopt this name in the discussion of their movements up to that point in time. Similarly, the last two villages of the five mentioned above have a common history, being called Pararitawë-tedi immediately prior to their splitting in 1960.

I wish to make several points in the discussion that follows. The histories indicate (1) that villages move only when forced to do so by raids from other villages; (2) that villages are structurally unstable and tend to split into factions because of internal disputes; (3) that the newly-established cognate villages frequently enter into hostilities with each other; and (4) that it is necessary to know the

Table 5: History of Namowei-tedi, Summarized.

Site	Dates of Occupation	Reason for Abandoning Site	If Village Split, Cause of Split	Relationships Between Cognates
Konata	1875-1900	Raids from Obotawë-tedi, Boreta-tedi, Bokpoiwë-urihi-tedi and Aramata-tedi	None	---
Wareta	1900-1910	Raids from Shihowë- and Nusirawë-urihi-tedi	None	---
Namowei	1910-1920	Raids from Boreta-tedi	None	---
Mahoyaoba	1920-1925	Poor Soil	None	---
Patanowë	1925-1943 (1966)	Internal feud led to split and raiding between factions; site still occupied	Village size and frequent fighting within village	Strained at first, then hostile
Shihota	1943-1949	Raids from Patanowë-tedi	None	---
Mahekodo	1951-1952	Suspicion that their hosts planned to kill them	None	---
Kobou	1952-1953	Fear of Shamatari raids	Internal feuds over women	Friendly
Monou and Barawë	1954-1966 1954-1959	Barawë abandoned because foreigners invited Indians to move to Mavaca; Monou still occupied	None	---
Hisasai	1959-1966	---	Village size and frequent arguments	Friendly

[Namowei-tedi Group]

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10cChagnon E-4.5 (1964-1968) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Table 6: History of Paruritawë-tedi, Summarized.

Site	Dates of Occupation	Reason for Abandoning Site	If Village Split, Cause of Split	Relationships Between Cognates
Pre-Aramamisi	? - 1880	Raids from Shihowë- and Mokayëaba-tedi	None	---
Aramamisi	1880-1900	Raids from Shihowë-, Konabuma and Mokayëaba-tedi	Feud over a woman	Hostile
Shirakobëwei	1900-1910 [1900-1966]	Internal feuds led to separation of several factions that raided parent group: Karehewë-, Matakuwë-, and previous enemies, Shihowë- and Mokayëaba-tedi. Aramamisi-tedi group remained at Shirakobëwei after other factions left	a. 1900: Karehewë's faction left because of a feud over a woman. b. 1900: Waiyahowë's faction left for unknown causes. c. 1910: Matakuwë's faction left to aid Karehewë and to avoid raids from Shihowë-tedi.	a. Hostile b. Friendly; Waiyahowë's group was decimated by an epidemic and no longer exists. c. Hostile
Borabëwei	1910-1935	Raids from Karawatari- and Aramamisi-tedi	Feud over a woman	Hostile
Kayurewë	1935-1940	Raids from Aramamisi- and Mamowei-tedi	None	---
Konabuma	1940-1945	See next column	Feud over a woman	Hostile
Paruritawë	1945-1960	Raids from Sibarariwë's village (Mëwëracoba-tedi)	Minor internal feud	Friendly
Mëmaribëwei Reyabobëwei	1960-1965	Present locations	None	---

[Paruritawë-tedi Group]

100Chagnon K-4.6 (1964-1966) 1967 SO18 Yanoama SO18

151

[Namowei-tedi Group]

The headman of Wareta-tedi, Shamaiyowë, and some of his kinsmen went to visit their allies on the latter's invitation, but Musirawë's group treacherously killed Shamaiyowë and two of his followers. Not wanting to participate in the raiding against their old allies, the Namowei-tedi established a new garden and moved away from the Wareta-tedi. A number of individuals in the present populations of Patanowë-tedi and Bisasasi-tedi trace descent back to the headman of Wareta-tedi, as the latter had demanded women in return for his protection. In ca. 1910 the Namowei-tedi moved to their new garden at Namowei.

Area 3: Namowei-tedi

This area is quite mountanous and the group took its name from one of the ranges, Namowei-kËkë--"sharpness." They lived here long enough to make three different gardens (Nakei, Shodemi, and Amatakë), but ultimately were forced to abandon the area because of renewed raiding from their old enemies, the Boreta-tedi. Having no friends to the north and several old enemies to the east, the Namowei-tedi moved west and established their garden at Hahoyaoba-tëka in ca. 1920.

Area 4: Hahoyaoba-tedi

The old allies of the Namowei-tedi, the Wareta-tedi, were forced to abandon their site and move west. They settled in the area immediately south of the Namowei-tedi, splitting into two villages (Hasaböwë-tedi and Ashadowë-tedi), and continued to remain on good terms with the Namowei-tedi.

174 men for the Kreibŏwei-tedi women distracted the Shamatari,
175 and a large number of Kreibŏwei-tedi managed to escape.
729 These fled to a mountain called WadubadidiobakĪkŏ where
[729] they had previously started clearing a new garden, Kobou-tĪka.
• [103] Here, the Kreibŏwei-tedi removed the arrow-points from the
[241] wounded and regained their health. They returned to Kreibŏwei-
[752] tĪka, as their new garden had not yet begun producing. Shortly
• [628] after the treacherous feast the Kreibŏwei-tedi were visited
by Shinanokawĭ, the headman of Mahekodo-tedi, and one of his
followers, Shiroba-tedi. The two men had heard of the
Kreibŏwei-tedi's unfortunate circumstances and visited them
to extend an invitation to join Mahekodo-tedi while they made
a new garden.

Area 8: Mahekodo-tedi

174 Before they left for Mahekodo-tedi the Kreibŏwei-tedi
175 undertook a revenge raid against Riakowĭ's group. They
721 killed two men and then retreated to Mahekodo-tedi, collect-
• 628 ing their women and children at Kreibŏwei-tĪka as they pro-
361 ceeded from Riakowĭ's village to Mahekodo-tedi. This was
early in 1951.

174 For the remaining months of 1951 the Kreibŏwei-tedi
175 worked on their garden at Kobou, returning to Mahekodo-tedi
361 at approximately 3-week intervals to rest and obtain more
241 plantains; these latter were carried to Kobou to sustain the
• 621 Kreibŏwei-tedi while they worked on their garden. Before
Kobou-tĪka was producing, however, the Kreibŏwei-tedi decided

[Namowei-tedi Group]

Area 9: Kobou-tika

124 125 228 241 361 722 [103]

9 The Kreibŏwei-tedi parted with their protectors as soon as this garden began producing. They lived at this site only long enough to complete their two new gardens at Monou and Barawë, moving into the latter when they, in turn, began producing. "Kobou" in Yanomamö means "let it go at that," or, in more vernacular terms, "to hell with that garden." Kobou was abandoned shortly after it was made, having served as a temporary base for the Kreibŏwei-tedi while they completed their split. It would not have been necessary to complete the splitting of the village by making two new gardens had there been no war with the Shamatari. But, as one faction of the group made their garden elsewhere, the others were reluctant to remain at Kobou and bear the brunt of the revenge raids from the Shamatari. Thus, they too made a new garden. Again, it would not have been necessary to make Kobou-tika had Mahekodo-tedi been a dependable ally. But as the Kreibŏwei-tedi suspected that their erstwhile protectors were plotting against them, they followed that course of action most expedient at the time. As they had already started Kobou, it was simply more practicable to complete that garden and move out of Mahekodo-tedi as soon as possible, rather than begin making two gardens and delay their move until these gardens began producing.

124 125 228

Areas 10 and 11: Monou-tedi and Barawë-tedi

After separating into two groups the Kreibŏwei-tedi

(Shamatari) lived in this village and, when the village split, led his faction into the Shukunčna-u basin, becoming known as the Nakayišbe-tedi. This move took place about 1900.

The second village also moved to the south side of the Orinoco, but remained on that river. They settled near a mountain called Aramamisi-kïkë, and named their village after the mountain. My historical data on the Shamatari village movements is sparse up to this point.

Between 1900 and 1950 the Mavaca and Shukunčna drainages were populated by the descendents of these two 'original' Shamatari groups, and the process of village splitting that led to the occupation of this large area continues at the present time.

Although there are two Shamatari groups (Kayabawë's and Matakuwë's), I outline the details of the movements of Matakuwë's group, mentioning Kayabawë's only in so far as it relates to the history of Paruritawë-tedi. Militarily, Kayabawë's group plays a prominent role in the movements of Matakuwë's followers up to 1920, illustrating once again that cognate villages enter into hostile relationships with each other after they separate. Thus, this section deals with the historical movements of the group that ultimately gave rise to Paruritawë-tedi; as this group also gave rise to a number of other villages, I shall have to briefly sketch the movements of these villages after their separation from the main group.

It will be immediately apparent that the Shamatari

[Pururitawë-tedi Group]

Area 1: Arasanisi-kËkë

Matakuwë's group settled here after abandoning their site north of the Orinoco because of wars with Kayabawë's group. The village at Arasanisi-kËkë, according to my informants (who could not possibly have remembered it from childhood), was immense. As the populations of the present villages of Yeisi-tedi, Nakialyoaba-tedi, Arasanisi-tedi, Konabuma-tedi,[1] Iwahikoroba-tedi, Akawaiyoba-tedi, MËwËracoba-tedi, Karawatari-urihi-tedi, Warabawë-tedi, Koherosahi-tedi, MËwaribËwei-tedi, and Kayabobëwei-tedi trace their origins to this single village, we must conclude that the village was indeed large in 1900.

A large segment of the population broke away from the main group and moved to the Mahuawë-u River, splitting into two groups after reaching that area. Their separation from the Arasanisi-kËkë population developed out of a feud over a woman within the village, and the feud escalated to mutual raiding after the separation was completed. The splinter group entered into friendly relationships with the Namowei-tedi and were their allies until about 1935, when a war between them broke out. The present villages of Konabuma-tedi, Yeisi-tedi, Nakialyoaba-tedi, and Akawaiyoba-tedi are derived from the original faction that separated from Matakuwë's group. The first three of these groups presently live in the Shakunëna-u basin, while the last one lives in the area abandoned by the

[1] There were two distinct Shamatari villages that had the name Konabuma-tedi.

others. Matakowë's group was being raided by Kayabowë's followers and by the splinter group that separated from Aramamisi-këkë. These raids forced Matakowë and his followers to abandon Aramamisi-këkë and settle at Shirakobëwei. This move took place about 1900, perhaps a few years later.

Area 2: Shirakobëwei

Matakowë's followers established several sites in this area, as they were harried by the raids from Kayabowë's followers. An internal village feud developed between the factions led respectively by Karehewë and Orakawë. During the fighting a young man from Karehewë's group was killed with a spear, and Karehewë moved to the Mavaca basin. Karehewë's followers raided the group at Shirakobëwei, and the latter reciprocated, forcing Karehewë to move further north. Karehewë's son, Riakowë, became headman of this village and played host to the 1950 treacherous feast in which the Kreibëwei-tedi lost a large number of men. This village is presently called Iwahikoroba-tedi, and is led by Riakowë's son, Bërëbëwë. In 1965 rumors reached the Bisaasi-tedi that Iwahikoroba-tedi had split into two factions, both moving down the Mavaca River. In September 1965 I attempted unsuccessfully to make the first contact with this group, but my guides forced me to turn back when we began seeing signs (bridges and trails) made by Bërëbëwë's group. They feared Bërëbëwë would kill us.

Another faction, led by Waiyabowë, split off from